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Tupi-Guarani SL8
Bacairi SP7
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see S: Simpson, SS16 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

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work, she tucks up her braids into a knot on the back of her head. Delousing is a favorite leisure-time activity of the women. Often one will see a group of women sitting on the ground, in the shade of the house, all facing in the same direction, each woman straddling the hips of the one in front of her while she herself is deloused by her friend behind her. The lice are cracked between the incisor teeth of the searcher and spat out (Plate 13, *a*). Men and boys wear their hair cropped close to the head, with the exception of a fringe of "bangs" which hangs down over the forehead into the eyes.

Although I measured and observed some hundred and twenty-five adults below Towakaima, I found no tattooing on their skins. In the settlements around the falls (Sineparu and Towakaima) and those above the falls, I found tattooing on both men and women. In all cases the decoration was confined to the inner surface of the forearm. I did not have the opportunity of seeing the process, but informants were consistent in stating that wild honey is the only substance introduced into the incisions. The skin is cut with bottle glass (knives and cutlasses are too dull) or with the point of a needle. In either case a continuous incision is made; no tattooing is done by the puncture method. It is difficult to understand how wild honey, dirty as it is, contains sufficient pigment, without being mixed with lamp black, to produce the blue designs which result from tattooing. A woman may have a series of long parallel lines running diagonally across the inner surface of her forearm. This is said to make the drink which she manufactures taste better. If this decoration appears on both arms, a woman is said to be able to work the cassiri more easily. Some informants stated that a woman could pass drink to a man only with the arm which is tattooed, but I did not find this consistently true in practise, even in the villages of the upper Barama. A greater variety of figures appear in the men's tattooing, such as crosses, circles, squares. Informants were unanimous in stating that these designs had no magical or religious significance. However, a fortuitous type of tattooing connected with magic appears on the arms of practically all men throughout the area: in preparing a bina, or hunting charm, a series of short transverse incisions is made on the inner surface of the right forearm, over the brachioradialis muscle, and into these incisions the ashes, juice, or powder

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sib principles are not at work. The Carib of the Orinoco paid little attention to descent.[1] Roth, on the basis of personal investigations among Pomeroon Caribs, Akawai, Macusi, Patemona, and Taurepang (all Carib-speaking groups), was unable to find anything corresponding to group or family names which might indicate the recognized existence of sib groupings.[2]

The Macusi apparently possess, according to the somewhat fragmentary information given by Farabee and Schomburgk, a relationship system based on the same principles as that of the Barama Caribs, but are also without a sib system. Kirchhoff, in discussing this problem in a recent and illuminating paper on the social organization of the tribes of northeastern South America,[3] says "the relationship nomenclature of the Macusi is clearly built on one principle, the separation of parallel and cross relatives. . . . This type of kinship nomenclature, which we have found here among a people without sib organization and without traces of an earlier sib organization, has been reported from very many people in all parts of the world (although not from all Kultur provinces or Kulturkreises), and as well from those without as from those with sib organization. This type has been regarded by ethnologists as characteristic for sib organization and as intimately and necessarily associated with its (the sib's) fundamental principles. As, upon further investigation, nomenclatures of this type were discovered among hitherto unstudied living peoples without sib organization, a search was begun for new connections and new clarifications. The result is the modern position, which has been universally accepted by the leading North American ethnologists. Even today, however, it has received astonishingly little attention in other countries due to the widespread lack of interest in all ethnological problems. [This modern position is] that this type of nomenclature is the underlying factor in certain problems connected with the levirate and sororate, and consequently is associated with the house group, with small relation to sib organization. . . . Tylor has explained this type on the basis of the dual organization. . . . However, this type has a very

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 673.

[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 675, "An old Pomeroon Carib gave me Turewi-o and Muru-wa as the only two alleged group names of his tribe that he could remember. While ignorant of their meaning or interpretation he assured me that they had nothing to do with sexual restrictions."

[3] Kirchhoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Verwandtenheirat*, pp. 41–71. Translation by author.

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614 601 171 wide distribution in the world, the dual organization a narrow one, so that the general explanation of the type on the basis of the dual organization is not applicable" unless one assumes the later diffusion of this type of nomenclature or a former wider distribution of the dual organization, evidence for which is lacking.

601 587 The actual kinship usages among the Barama Caribs at the present time support the view that, in the absence of sib organization, the terminology is closely connected with the customs of the levirate and the sororate. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this monograph, polygamous marriages are frequently sororal. Likewise, a widow usually marries a brother of her deceased husband. If these customs are not followed invariably at the present time, they nevertheless seem to be survivals of more stringent rules of former times. Informants state that sororate and levirate were invariable among the "old-time people." Unfortunately, while in the area itself, I did not have this problem well enough in mind to make a thorough census of marriages for the purpose of determining the actual incidence of the levirate and sororate in the total number of unions. However, practically all informants stated levirate and sororate rules in their descriptions of the choice of mates which are taken after the first marriage, indicating that this seems to be the conscious pattern, regardless of the actual behavior. In the twelve cases of polygynous marriages with the circumstances of which I was familiar, each of eight men had married his wife's sister. Of seven widows who had remarried, all had married brothers or parallel cousins (terminologically the same) of the deceased husbands.

601 582 Now the distinction between cross and parallel cousins and the prohibition of marriage with the latter, which is one of the fundamental principles of the Barama Carib system, as can be seen from the equivalences of affinal relatives (Section B, Analysis of the Relationship System), is an obvious necessity in a society in which both the levirate and sororate are actively functioning. The implications are obvious.[1] In many cases marriage with a child of the father's brother or mother's sister in such a society would mean marriage with an actual half-brother or half-sister.

[1] Cf. Lowie, 1919, *Family and Sib*; Lowie, 1920, *Primitive Society*, Chap. 8; Sapir, 1916, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, pp. 327–337. Somewhat same viewpoints are expressed in Kroeber, 1909, *Classificatory Systems of Relationship*, pp. 77–84; Radcliff-Brown, 1930, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, p. 427 ff.

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many grandchildren he or she has, and if the number is remembered, the sex of the several grandchildren is often vague. This state of affairs added no little to the difficulty of obtaining genealogies. The grandchild is characteristically not a real person of the grandparent's experience.

Grandparents, on the other hand, are much more real personalities to their grandchildren than the reverse. Even if a grandchild seldom sees the grandparent in the flesh, the older individual's personality is impressed upon the child through the conversation and allusions of the parents. Hence, it is natural that the grandparents are distinguished according to sex.

A further peculiarity of the system is to be noted in the provisions made permitting the marriage of a man with his sister's daughter, a type of marriage which has also been reported from the Carib Tamanak, Macusi, Galibi, Island Carib, Cumanagoto, Chayma, and Palenke, as well as the Coastal Tupi.[1] Among the Barama Caribs a man calls his sister's daughter takano ("marriageable" or cross cousin), and a woman calls her mother's brother iyao, the term which she uses for all men whom she may marry. Consistent with this usage is the fact that a woman calls the children of her mother's sister by the same terms which she uses for her own children and the fact that she calls children of maternal parallel cousins by the same term which she uses for her own grandchildren. Two cases of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter were noted in the area. At the present time it seems to be an archaic type of marriage. "Marriage with the sister's daughter," says Kirchhoff,[2] "is, aside from the jungle tribes of South America, known only among a number of mostly Dravidian tribes and castes of India and among the Tungus of East Siberia. . . . The Carib sources are clear only on one point, namely, that it is among them (as also among the Coastal Tupi) a deep-rooted system. On the other hand, the sources from the Coastal Tupi supply thorough going information among which statements concerning this custom can be found. We find, thus, two wholly different situations reported in which this form of marriage is customary. . . . In the first place, this form of

[1] Kirchoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, and Kirchoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschafts organisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas.*

[2] Kirchhoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, p. 58. Translation by author.

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582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation." Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America. According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction, based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle generations between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent matrilocal marriage.[1] The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

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602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

[1] Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.

121 It would appear that studies of the relationships between popu-
182 lation size and competition for local and external resources in the
*177 process of modernization, as in the case of the Upper Barama River
Caribs, are appropriate in many similar situations throughout the
[131] world. In the Guyanas, which includes the area bounded by the Rio
Negro, Amazon and Orinoco rivers, local Amerindian populations are
subject to a variety of geographical environments and regional in-
[133] fluences. The geographical areas include coastal, inland mountain-
savannah, and interfluvial rain forest environments (Gillin 1948:800).
Nevertheless, each area is not monolithic regarding the regional in-
fluences of national agencies, missionary groups, and entrepreneural
agents which also generate adaptive strategies on the part of local
populations.

*177 For example, the interfluvial area in which the Upper Barama
182 River Caribs are found is also inhabited by other Amerindian popu-
171 lations, including Caribs, with different adaptations. Along the
184 border between Venezuela and Brazil, the Yąnomamö (Chagnon 1968)
[101] adapt essentially to the rain forest and engage in warfare, charac-
terized by its attrition, which contributes to the dispersion and
limitation of this population. Although they rely on the European
introduced plantain as the staple crop, they are largely unaffected
by direct external influences. By contrast, the Trio (Rivière 1969),
a Carib speaking group, have been recently nucleated around mission
stations, a Roman Catholic mission in Brazil and two Protestant
missions in Surinam. Carib groups outside the interfluvial area
also add contrast to the adaptations of the Upper Barama River Caribs.